Fourth of July Oration

THURSDAY, JULY 4, 1907

BY

Rev. Edward A. Horton

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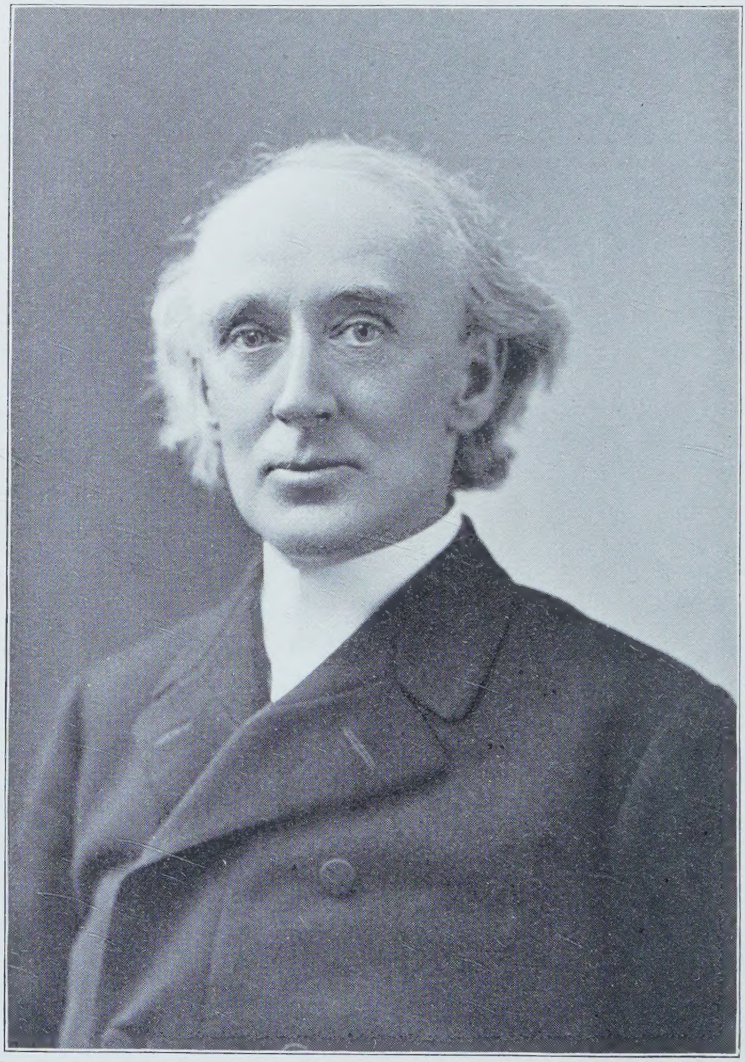

Edward A. Horton

ORATION

PATRIOTISM AND THE REPUBLIC

BY

REV. EDWARD A. HORTON

DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON
IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIRST
ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1907

SIC UT PATRIBUS, SIT DEUS NOBIS
BOSTONIA
CONDITA A.D.
1630.
COMMIMINE DONATA A.D. 1692.

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PATRIOTISM AND THE REPUBLIC

FOURTH OF JULY ORATION, 1907

BY REV. EDWARD A. HORTON

Mr. Mayor and Fellow Citizens:

There are two famous places in this Mecca of Boston more sought by the thousands of our annual visitors than are all the many other historic shrines. These are Bunker Hill and Faneuil Hall. Quite different are they in their local significance, yet one in suggestiveness to the pilgrim. Both speak eloquently of the cradle-time, the origin of American independence.

Bunker Hill tells of defeat turned into victory at last by the irresistible march of time and time's providence over the people's struggles for liberty and self-government. Faneuil Hall is an oration in itself, forever speaking to the remotest parts of this country, and the world, of American patriotism.

As I stand here, where often I have stood before, the sense of appreciation, the joy of Boston citizenship, wells fuller than ever in my heart. This is no mean city, and proud should we all be to live in it, and share its exceptional associations. That is the thought to emphasize just now — "exceptional," now,

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when the sceptre of power seems to pass from the East to the West.

No city is like Boston. No community has such a history; no city has grander ideals; no city deserves more from the nation. But the claims of to-day, in any state or city, for attention and influence cannot be enforced by appeals to a past, however honorable. Swift and impartial is the current of public affairs, ever sweeping toward the new and larger destiny of the Republic. I venture to say that what I am to consider with you at this time touches the heart of the whole matter. You will find that it goes back to the birth-time of our city and Commonwealth, yet it is the most vital part of our twentieth century unfolding of America.

My theme is "Patriotism and the Republic."

There may be a more important topic for such a day and time as this, but I fail to find it; for I place this proposition first and fundamental to all I may say: That with an intelligent, broad patriotism the citizen and the city, the State and Union cannot go astray.

At the beginning let us assume two things: That we will, for the moment, forget the distortions and abuses perpetrated in the name of patriotism. Next, that we will open our minds wide to the new and larger interpretations of this vital truth. What has been, has been; we cannot change history. But we can *make* history, in the light of modern progress. That is our crowning duty.

Boston, our beloved city, is not old Boston; new problems, new conditions, new factors are around us; we are parts of this engrossing whole. Faithful is he who turns resolutely to the task, and flies not from the field. Were we born to live on others' labors? Shall we show a pusillanimous spirit and confess there is no good in us? Praise be to those who keep their reverence for a noble past allied with vigilance and hope.

For the first lesson of patriotism is faith in the possibilities of human advance. Even the sacrifices of old times, offered in a narrow way, offered for God and country, were not without this faith. They were testimonies to an expectation, "far flung," that mankind was marching on, and must save all its hard-won gains.

Another lesson learned, even from the imperfect examples of the past, is this: "Whatsoever strengthens our local attachments is favorable both to individual and national character." So said Southey. He meant by these words that no one can be a world-lover who is not also a home-lover. "You cannot love the whole world and nobody in particular." What is more saddening than the sight of an American who finds his chief occupation all his years in drifting over Europe, spending his unearned wealth on selfish ease, quick to criticise the United States, and without ties of loyalty to a native land? The noblest leaders in world plans have been those who had strong

affection for their own countrymen. He who is so superlatively high and proud as to ignore his origin and beginning is not likely to make a worthy citizen of any kind.

All honor to those who, coming to this land from other shores, cherish the examples and associations of the race into which they were born. Well has it been said: "A people that does not hold in honor its historical great men is like one who denies his parents." America does not demand a forgetting, a denial of ancestry, from those joining our citizenship.

The true patriot in our Republic is asked to keep gratitude deep and memory bright, for by such sources is character made strong. That ardent remembrance may reach back to green-clad isle, to vine-covered slopes, to rugged northern cliffs, to sunny fields, where you will of Europe's domain, or to village and hamlet in New England scenes — from all we demand a heart of loyal memory, believing that it is the best pledge of fidelity to life in our New World.

When this view is dominant then the words of Lowell concerning a "world-wide fatherland" come true:

> "Where'er a single slave doth pine,
> Where'er one man may help another, —
> Thank God for such a birthright, brother, —
> That spot of earth is thine and mine!
> There is the true man's birthplace grand,
> His is a world-wide fatherland."

In other words, a twentieth century patriotism is large enough to include duty anywhere, and to claim lovers of humanity everywhere. It has no jealousy of honest sentiments, which, while local in origin, are roots that feed the great ideas our national life sets forth.

The patriotism I have in mind does not need war to prove its title and claim. As an humble participant in the civil strife, I may be permitted to speak frankly. I refuse to agree with a statement made centuries ago, and often quoted of late: "That the most unfair peace is preferable to the justest war." What does it clearly mean but this: That we should compromise, barter, surrender our principles, do anything, if need be, in order to escape war? No other interpretation is possible. It is very easy for men to indulge a sentiment like this whose security and peace have been obtained by sacrifices and death through others.

American patriotism pleads for peace, stands for peace, legislates for peace, and, when it is necessary, *fights* for peace. Foremost at The Hague Conference, it also safeguards the bitterly won results of progress by wise methods. Truly has it been said: "There are greater words than patriotism, and among them are civilization and humanity. There are greater words than peace, and among them are justice and honor." But my contention is that, as a working force in human affairs, patriotism brings results, and

energizes the world to efforts that give reality to justice, honor, civilization, and emancipated humanity.

I am fully in harmony with those who assert that heroism in times of peace can be splendidly cultivated. Let us recall Milton's golden declaration:

"Peace hath her victories, no less renowned than war."

The daily life of humble toilers often shines with marvellous unselfishness; the risks of men on land and sea in ordinary service frequently reveal a valor equal to battle-field courage; to live for the Republic in a manly fashion, without trumpets or drums, is as heroic as to die amid the wild excitement of war.

All this I grant. But in this world of undeveloped life, half developed types, woe to that nation which drifts and does not steer. We are on a sea of storm-engendering possibilities; we are on the ocean of liberty, and hand is often raised against hand. The patriot wants nothing more than to be let alone; but if sorely pressed by foes, he is prepared to defend and preserve the rights of humanity.

That leads us to another point. The question may be asked: "You evidently think, do you not, that America has a superior civilization and so claims the right to impose it on other people?"

Half of the question may be answered, "Yes." The final part, "No." For one, I have no doubt of the beneficial, superior character of our principles over

former experiments. That is the word Mr. Bryce used, "experiment." Since writing his great work, "The American Commonwealth,"— a glorious companion to DeTocqueville's luminous study of our Republic, — I fancy the author has not changed his high estimate of our career. If we do not believe that our "experiment" is so far good and best, then let us change. If we have faith in a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, then our duty is plain, we must give to it our utmost ability and zeal.

This work of uplifting humanity is no half-hearted task. It requires all the affirmative force of every citizen. Most certainly I think our country embodies the essentials of a superior kind. To say that we have deficiencies is to state a fact applicable to human nature everywhere. On the stage of human events to-day, behold the pathetic tragedy of Russia, where a people, attempting to secure liberty, justice, brotherhood,— our great privileges,— are beaten back by Cossacks, Czar tyranny and ancient injustice. If our constitutional privileges were granted to others as to us, do you doubt the great gain to the world?

Sneers are not arguments. Doubt never built up anything. As Americans, we proclaim to the world, that which is good for the varied citizens composing this Republic must be good for others. We do not impose our blessings on any nation or island. But if Providence places a charge in our keeping we will

not evade it, and in Cuba or the Philippines we will try to do our duty.

Let me recall the fact that I am speaking in Boston. Here, more than anywhere else, a certain phrase has been smitten with violent disapprobation. That obnoxious utterance is:

"My Country, right or wrong."

What is called "indiscriminate patriotism" makes bad use of such a sentiment. Standing by itself, I cannot endorse it. But properly interpreted, it seems to me a worthy motto.

This is the manner of its true significance: "My Country, right or wrong; if right, to stand by her; if wrong, to make her right." Is not that a lofty idea? It allows for loyalty and reform at the same time. It asks for conservatism and progress, for zeal and justice combined. Shame on those who sulk in their tents when public affairs go wrong. Such individuals are loyal and active in balmy days, that please their personal wishes, but cold and obstructive in times of perplexity.

"Our City, right or wrong; if right, to stand by her; if wrong, to make her right." Some of those who object to this ethical, patriotic sentiment are men and women who want everything their own way; who desert Boston; who leave her overflowing civic growth to play the part of critics and censors. I invoke the shades of those who once gave Boston

its fame and power. They speak from the upper heaven of a transfigured reverence. To you, to you of this generation, they speak:

"Leave petty considerations behind; obliterate small differences; revive the old-time spirit that made Boston an inspiring centre of our country's welfare."

If *we* are not awake, how can we hope to convince others? This is the patriot's cry as he thinks of this city by the sea, home of liberty, literature and philanthropy.

The patriotism I am describing knows it must stand for somewhere and do something, and not forever find fault, saying: "This might have been so much better, but what can you expect of the present age, it is so vulgar?"

Finely has it been said: "The first essential of an American must be an enthusiastic sympathy with the magnificent movements in his own country. Here are the vast movements of races to new homes; here is the upward movement of whole classes seeking better conditions of living; here are other mysterious, educational movements by which the mind of the masses takes in larger views."

"To the mere doctrinaire, all these popular movements are but meaningless manifestations of the mob spirit. He is offended because people do not follow a neat and orderly moral programme."

The truth must be told, that in this part of New England there is a large class of well-educated and

well-meaning persons who have not developed beyond the stage of criticism. They can tell you how a thing ought not to be done, how this is wrong, and that is faulty, from paintings to patriotism, but as creators and helpers to actual results they are utterly valueless.

Better a dozen failures, and one good achievement out of it all, than repression and fear and a love of varnished propriety. Life, movement, circulation of ideas, experiments, comparison of views, democratic sympathies, these are as necessary to progress as oxygen and agitation are vitally essential to a healthy atmosphere.

There is one habit in patriotism that has troubled many serious-minded citizens, and that is the use of the American flag, and the popular language concerning it. Some of these objectors deplore what they call the idolatry of a piece of bunting, and what they consider a misdirection of sentiment. They hear too much about "following the flag" or "honoring the flag"; all this is dangerous in their eyes, and childish also.

Let us allow for absurd and foolish talk about the flag; but what is the beauty and power of the idea? Just this — that human nature demands some symbolism, some outward token of its feeling and thoughts. When a man has reduced his patriotism so low that he scorns symbols for it, and condemns all demonstrations of its joy, and discusses the whole

thing as a matter of political economy, you have found a specimen of hot-house citizenship, showy, but lacking hardy qualities.

Who of sound heart is not affected by the sight of the little fluttering flags placed on the grassy mounds each Memorial Day? Who of sterling loyalty fails to respond, even to tears, as he beholds, after long absence, the Stars and Stripes floating from masthead or steeple? It has passed through battle storms, and waved over scenes of peace; it has been the mantle of honor for the last rites over the loyal, lowly and great; emblematic as it is of our country's struggles and hopes, it should be more and more displayed, and more and more received with uncovered heads as it passes through our streets.

May it become a sign of such righteous and deserving power that when it floats over any foreign spot, or wraps any persecuted citizen, the hands of no nation, for the time being, shall dare to tear aside its protecting folds!

Among other practical benefits of a working patriotism is the clearing up of ideas as to politics. There is too much depreciation abroad on this subject. Children hear their parents at home ridicule politics and politicians, and the current comment is one of suspicion and disdain. Well, I ask you how a government of our kind can live without politics? Our dictionaries tell us it is the science of governing; the knowledge and administration of public

affairs. The true policy would seem to be the encouragement of our best and wisest to enter this important field, than which there is no superior. Is this the usual course? On the contrary, the tendency is to ascribe evil motives to our public officials, and to advise the shunning of political life.

Such were not the views of our great leaders like Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Franklin, and, I add, that man of the people, Abraham Lincoln. Let us stop this dangerous habit of decrying and lowering the great business of a Republic. The young man seeking a noble career cannot find a worthier field than politics. It demands the loftiest ideals, the widest wisdom, the largest common sense. The great parties to which all of us belong are political, and even those who think they are competent to act individually, outside parties, are often the strongest partisans on great questions.

I adjure you, for the sake of our free institutions, to stem this dangerous tide of contemporary error, and sustain the patriotic view of parties and politics. Do everything to purify and uplift the representative merit of our constituencies; exhort our talented young men to take part, and demand the highest and best from those who serve us.

It has been said, democracy is a failure unless it produces leaders, and patriotism approves that utterance. Leaders in monarchical countries are greatly created by lineage and the authority of inherited

titles. Leadership in a democracy must rest on merit and personality; it must spring from a demand, and be responded to by natural, popular sources of courage and conviction.

The patriot expects that among his fellow men there are possibilities of greatness; he believes that generals and statesmen are not impossible at any time when the nation is in distress, or when great problems confront the public conscience. Even as the Revolution proved this to be true, and the Civil War offered innumerable testimonies, and in the Spanish War we were not lacking, — so it is our unabated conviction that a republic, living up to its standards, will not fail to bring forward in peril and emergency a Washington, a Jefferson, a Grant, a Lincoln. I forbear to mention the heroes of our later days.

An ex-President of the United States has recently used the phrase, "uncontaminated patriotism." He is the author of several felicitous expressions. That is what I mean by my own language: "The Higher or Truer Patriotism." Our ex-President said of Thomas F. Bayard: "Under the guidance of uncontaminated patriotism he reached the highest plane of political usefulness and party service. The youth of our land should learn from the record of this useful life that duty to God, to country, and to 'clear belief strengthened into a conviction,' is the best recipe for happiness." May we not add to these

words, — and the best recipe for noble service to country and mankind? What does leadership mean in a country like ours? What do people expect and need? A leader must lead. No shuffling or evasion, no time-serving, no turning to the past in a weak effort of imitation. An American leader of to-day must have the courage of his convictions; he must expect to make enemies; his credentials are sincerity of motives and energy of aim.

Study the history of patriotism,— worthy or unworthy, old or new,— and you will find one characteristic running through the record. There was an enthusiastic devotion to leaders. They were considered providential parts of the epochs in which they lived and moved and molded. What does it mean? A foolish following, a blind enthusiasm, an ignorant loyalty? Not so. These great characters represented, each in his time, a great idea, and with all their imperfections as men, each seemed to be a Moses divinely appointed to lead to some promised land. Deep in the mysterious heart of humanity the Almighty has planted Hero Worship. When wrongly developed, it offers allegiance to false leaders and madly idolizes a Napoleon or a Cæsar. But this same trait is the source of the admiration and love that crown Washington and Lincoln with honor; or brings laurels for the brows of such patriots as Daniel O'Connell and Garibaldi; or lauds the statesmanship examples of unselfish souls like Gladstone and John Hay.

Here is the secret after all, well expressed by another: "National enthusiasm is the great nursery of genius." Yes! genius of all kinds springs from the national life of a country when it is stirred and lifted to inspirational heights; when great issues agitate the homes of the land, and ideals break forth in all their glory. Then, the poet sings in loftiest strains; then, music is voiced that echoes down the future; then, heroes appear from the by-lanes of daily life; then, wisdom is found in high places; then, humanity recovers faith in God and in its own God-given powers.

A natural step from what I have just said leads to a kindred suggestion. We are much troubled by unrest and disturbance. Has patriotism any word to say about this? The anarchist is not so much abroad here as in Europe, but we are not without evidence of his presence. I only call up the thought to point this one truth: That all the trouble to-day does not spring from the working people, the common people, as Abraham Lincoln expressed it. The patriotism I am portraying sees an anarchist in a millionaire as quickly as in an artisan. I am not referring to an anarchist technically named, but to breakers of law, and marauders of public rights, wherever found.

Some of the most dangerous movements at the present time originate in the corporate or organized sources of power. President Roosevelt perceives this

and boldly launches investigations. Mr. Bryan is fearless in stating this truth to his fellow countrymen. In view of the lawless spirit that runs you down in automobiles, that waters stocks, that works for a few against the many, that tends to create a favored class, that lobbies legislatures, that snaps its fingers at the public, — what can we effect against it? I see nothing better, nothing more irresistible, than an aroused public spirit, and that is patriotism.

In the last resort the people are sovereigns. At the ballot-box, and by wise laws, they are rulers. There is no easy, royal road to prosperity in a land like ours. If we are to fulfil our laws and institutions we must stand for justice to all, and for all. There is no equality by birth. The cradle reveals wide differences in the children born into our varied homes. But, thank God, there may be equality before the law, and for that great end was our government formed. Leave not the results to courts and judges; they are often imperfect agents; but ever strive to foster in the young a sense of justice, an ideal of right, and then the humblest citizen may hope for opportunity and happiness. Thus speaks patriotism of old time, and now, in America.

If I were to send this subject home with a still more personal force I should ask you to behold how life-giving and renewing the spirit of patriotism is. And why? Because it creates interest in life, and leads one out of himself. Here I may be in danger of sermonizing, but I venture.

Old age is not in years, but in the withering of feelings. A patriot never grows old, because his feelings are kept vigorous by interest in public matters; he is in touch with his fellow men. A branch cut off from the tree dies. An individual losing his sympathy with affairs outside his limited circle grows smaller and smaller until he becomes a mere cricket chirping the coming of winter. The source of perennial youth can never be found in valley or on mountain height; its sources are in the emotions, ever responsive to humanity's struggles. Honors often came to the hermit in the days of old; but no crown awaits the ascetic and cynic of the twentieth century.

He serves his day and generation best who mingles in it with a desire to lift his fellow men, and to rise unto better things. Anything human is dear to him. From such loss of his lower self, he ascends to the higher self, and finds himself through others. Life never grows tame to him; his enthusiasm lives on; his courage is unabated.

It is high time for me now to define my meaning of patriotism, otherwise I shall fall under condemnation by my academic critics. It may be said that I am claiming for this principle or passion more than belongs to it. This is my reply: American patriotism assimilates motives that have their origin in religion, morality and philosophy. Like some rare product of the crucible, it is a wonderful combination. Philosophy alone cannot take its place; ethics fail as a substitute; religion, though mighty, is not enough.

Listen to Archbishop Ireland's words, that eminent patriot: "The human race pays homage to patriotism because of its supreme value. The value of patriotism to a people is above gold and precious stones, above commerce and industry, above citadels and warships. Patriotism is a vital spark of national honor; it is the fount of the nation's prosperity, the shield of the nation's safety. Take patriotism away, the nation's soul has fled, bloom and beauty have vanished from the nation's countenance."

May I add the language of Starr King, whose eloquence saved California to the Union in the Civil War? He said: "True patriotism is pledged to the idea which one's country represents. It does not accept and glory in its country merely for what it is at present and has been in the past, but for what it may be."

Ordinary definitions tell us that patriotism is love of country and devotion to her welfare. What is the welfare of America? Not a triumph of arms, not a vast extent of territory, not great wealth with small souls, not bluster and arrogance amid material luxuries. Not one of you would assent to this definition. The patriotic idea is service. To serve our own country nobly we must so expand her great resources as to make them helpful to the whole world. Service may be here or there, at home or abroad, in high or low positions; but one spirit pervades the citizens of the United States, and

wherever they are each cries with pride: "I, too, am an American."

What, then, may we claim for "American Patriotism"? To what great ends does its power and inspiration tend?

It stands for the best things so far known to the world. And what are the "best things"? Most certainly those conditions of life which foster high achievements and spur to grander heights. It was Phillips Brooks, beloved of Boston, who summed up the watchwords of our early people. They are four: 1. Religious liberty, or the right to worship according to the dictates of our individual consciences. 2. Popular government, or the right of the people to govern themselves. 3. Popular education, or the open door of enlightenment to the poorest and the richest alike. 4. Trusteeship of the world, especially of the land and country in which we live. These are the best things in all life's prizes, and for them the patriot gives his earnest pledge.

Next, we are creating a composite type out of all these elements that pour into our land. Our debt is due to many nationalities. One race alone cannot furnish the supply needful to the making of an American citizen. Too little is it known that at the beginning of our nation's history the patriot forces were recruited from many lands and races. But together they stood as one in the revolutionary struggles. So must it be now, and so it is. Woven

of many racial sources, our flag, our country, our language, are tokens of *E pluribus unum*, one from many, in a vaster sense than our forefathers dreamed.

And, lastly, it is to be hoped and believed that we have the ability to correct our errors; not only that, but the willingness and the power to advance our ideals. If not, then we fail, and shamefully fail. Not to-day, the anniversary of our Independence, the birthday of American Nationality, could I play the part of a critic. It has become a byword with many to speak slightingly of Fourth of July patriotism. Allowing for all extravagance, rhetoric, and senseless sentiment, in many instances, I venture to say that Boston can show no wider, more forcible, or lofty interpretations of public duty than in her Fourth of July orations. I do not aspire to rank with those who, in the past, have quickened all noble motives, and restated, in eloquent words, the Republic's dignity and aspirations. What great names shine on the illustrious roll! But I may be permitted to sound the keynote of American progress and to ask for the marching spirit.

Far be the day when this observance loses its respect and value. Let our children gather to see the uplifted standards of a great people. Errors are best overcome by setting forth the truth. Our faults, as a people, cannot be cured by scolding and censoriousness. The pupils of our public schools need models, examples, inspirations, by which the higher rule of life is shown supreme.

In such a spirit I have spoken, not to extenuate the wrongs that exist in our land, but to point out the better way. Hear the great words that sound above us, and call to the rising generation:

Opportunity at the top. Opportunity for men and faithful work. Opportunity to the humblest boy or girl, through the gateway of our free institutions.

Brotherhood, awaiting the new order that shall shape labor and capital into harmony. Brotherhood, real and true and sincere, the only ground and bond of a Republic.

And *Service* in myriad channels. Service to our city, our nation, our fellow men. Service that gives joy in doing. Yes! These words are growing realities,— *opportunity*, *brotherhood*, *service*. Into them all, and into innumerable other great ideas, world-shaping and commanding, Patriotism pours its life, its inspiration, to the making of an American citizen.

What constitutes a State?
Not high raised battlement or labored mound,
Thick wall or moated gate;
Not cities proud with spires and turrets crowned;
Not bays and broad armed ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;
Not starred and spangled courts,
Where low-browed baseness wafts perfumes to pride.
No: — Men, high-minded men,
Men who their duties know,
But know their rights, and knowing dare maintain —
These constitute a State.

A LIST

OF

BOSTON MUNICIPAL ORATORS.

By C. W. ERNST.

BOSTON ORATORS

Appointed by the Municipal Authorities.

For the Anniversary of the Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770.

Note. — The Fifth-of-March orations were published in handsome quarto editions, now very scarce; also collected in book form in 1785, and again in 1807. The oration of 1776 was delivered in Watertown.

1771. — Lovell, James.

1772. — Warren, Joseph.[2]

1773. — Church, Benjamin.[b]

1774. — Hancock, John.[a, 2]

1775. — Warren, Joseph.

1776. — Thacher, Peter.

1777. — Hichborn, Benjamin.

1778. — Austin, Jonathan Williams.

1779. — Tudor, William.

1780. — Mason, Jonathan, Jun.

1781. — Dawes, Thomas, Jun.

1782. — Minot, George Richards.

1783. — Welsh, Thomas.

For the Anniversary of National Independence, July 4, 1776.

Note. — A collected edition, or a full collection, of these orations has not been made. For the names of the orators, as officially printed on the title pages of the orations, see the Municipal Register of 1890.

1783. — Warren, John.[1]

1784. — Hichborn, Benjamin.

1785. — Gardner, John.

a Reprinted in Newport, R.I., 1774, 8vo., 19 pp.

b A third edition was published in 1773.

[1] Reprinted in Warren's Life. The orations of 1783 to 1786 were published in large quarto; the oration of 1787 appeared in octavo; the oration of 1788 was printed in small quarto; all succeeding orations appeared in octavo, with the exceptions stated under 1863 and 1876.

1786. — Austin, Jonathan Loring.
1787. — Dawes, Thomas, Jun.
1788. — Otis, Harrison Gray.
1789. — Stillman, Samuel.
1790. — Gray, Edward.
1791. — Crafts, Thomas, Jun.
1792. — Blake, Joseph, Jun.[2]
1793. — Adams, John Quincy.[2]
1794. — Phillips, John.
1795. — Blake, George.
1796. — Lathrop, John, Jun.
1797. — Callender, John.
1798. — Quincy, Josiah.[2, 3]
1799. — Lowell, John, Jun.[2]
1800. — Hall, Joseph.
1801. — Paine, Charles.
1802. — Emerson, William.
1803. — Sullivan, William.
1804. — Danforth, Thomas.[2]
1805. — Dutton, Warren.
1806. — Channing, Francis Dana.[4]
1807. — Thacher, Peter.[2, 5]
1808. — Ritchie, Andrew, Jun.[2]
1809. — Tudor, William, Jun.[2]
1810. — Townsend, Alexander.
1811. — Savage, James.[2]
1812. — Pollard, Benjamin.[4]
1813. — Livermore, Edward St. Loe.

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[2] Passed to a second edition.

[3] Delivered another oration in 1826. Quincy's oration of 1798 was reprinted, also, in Philadelphia.

[4] Not printed.

[5] On February 26, 1811, Peter Thacher's name was changed to Peter Oxenbridge Thacher. (List of Persons whose Names have been Changed in Massachusetts, 1780–1892, p. 21.)

1814. — Whitwell, Benjamin.

1815. — Shaw, Lemuel.

1816. — Sullivan, George.[2]

1817. — Channing, Edward Tyrrel.

1818. — Gray, Francis Calley.

1819. — Dexter, Franklin.

1820. — Lyman, Theodore, Jun.

1821. — Loring, Charles Greely.[2]

1822. — Gray, John Chipman.

1823. — Curtis, Charles Pelham.[2]

1824. — Bassett, Francis.

1825. — Sprague, Charles.[6]

1826. — Quincy, Josiah.[7]

1827. — Mason, William Powell.

1828. — Sumner, Bradford.

1829. — Austin, James Trecothick.

1830. — Everett, Alexander Hill.

1831. — Palfrey, John Gorham.

1832. — Quincy, Josiah, Jun.

1833. — Prescott, Edward Goldsborough.

1834. — Fay, Richard Sullivan.

1835. — Hillard, George Stillman.

1836. — Kinsman, Henry Willis.

1837. — Chapman, Jonathan.

1838. — Winslow, Hubbard. "The Means of the Perpetuity and Prosperity of our Republic."

1839. — Austin, Ivers James.

1840. — Power, Thomas.

1841. — Curtis, George Ticknor.[8] "The True Uses of American Revolutionary History."[8]

1842. — Mann, Horace.[9]

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[6] Six editions up to 1831. Reprinted also in his Life and Letters.
[7] Reprinted in his Municipal History of Boston. See 1798.
[8] Delivered another oration in 1862.
[9] There are five or more editions; only one by the City.

1843. — Adams, Charles Francis.

1844. — Chandler, Peleg Whitman. "The Morals of Freedom."

1845. — Sumner, Charles.[10] "The True Grandeur of Nations."

1846. — Webster, Fletcher.

1847. — Cary, Thomas Greaves.

1848. — Giles, Joel. "Practical Liberty."

1849. — Greenough, William Whitwell. "The Conquering Republic."

1850. — Whipple, Edwin Percy.[11] "Washington and the Principles of the Revolution."

1851. — Russell, Charles Theodore.

1852. — King, Thomas Starr.[12] "The Organization of Liberty on the Western Continent."[12]

1853. — Bigelow, Timothy.[13]

1854. — Stone, Andrew Leete.[2] "The Struggles of American History."

1855. — Miner, Alonzo Ames.

1856. — Parker, Edward Griffin. "The Lesson of '76 to the Men of '56."

1857. — Alger, William Rounseville.[14] "The Genius and Posture of America."

1858. — Holmes, John Somers.[2]

1859. — Sumner, George.[15]

1860. — Everett, Edward.

1861. — Parsons, Theophilus.

1862. — Curtis, George Ticknor.[8]

1863. — Holmes, Oliver Wendell.[16]

1864. — Russell, Thomas.

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[10] Passed through three editions in Boston and one in London, and was answered in a pamphlet, Remarks upon an Oration delivered by Charles Sumner . . . . July 4th, 1845. By a Citizen of Boston. See Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner, by Edward L. Pierce, vol. ii. 337-384.

[11] There is a second edition. (Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1850. 49 pp. 12°.)

[12] First published by the City in 1892.

[13] This and a number of the succeeding orations, up to 1861, contain the speeches, toasts, etc., of the City dinner usually given in Faneuil Hall on the Fourth of July.

1865.—Manning, Jacob Merrill. "Peace under Liberty."[2]

1866.—Lothrop, Samuel Kirkland.

1867.—Hepworth, George Hughes.

1868.—Eliot, Samuel. "The Functions of a City."

1869.—Morton, Ellis Wesley.

1870.—Everett, William.

1871.—Sargent, Horace Binney.

1872.—Adams, Charles Francis, Jun.

1873.—Ware, John Fothergill Waterhouse.

1874.—Frothingham, Richard.

1875.—Clarke, James Freeman. "Worth of Republican Institutions."

1876.—Winthrop, Robert Charles.[17]

1877.—Warren, William Wirt.

1878.—Healy, Joseph.

1879.—Lodge, Henry Cabot.

1880.—Smith, Robert Dickson.[18]

1881.—Warren, George Washington. "Our Republic—Liberty and Equality Founded on Law."

1882.—Long, John Davis.

1883.—Carpenter, Henry Bernard. "American Character and Influence."

1884.—Shepard, Harvey Newton.

1885.—Gargan, Thomas John.

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[14] Probably four editions were printed in 1857. (Boston: Office Boston Daily Bee. 60 pp.) Not until November 22, 1864, was Mr. Alger asked by the City to furnish a copy for publication. He granted the request, and the first official edition (J. E. Farwell & Co., 1864, 53 pp.) was then issued. It lacks the interesting preface and appendix of the early editions.

[15] There is another edition. (Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1859, 69 pp.) A third (Boston: Rockwell & Churchill, 1882, 46 pp.) omits the dinner at Faneuil Hall, the correspondence and events of the celebration.

[16] There is a preliminary edition of twelve copies. (J. E. Farwell & Co., 1863. (7), 71 pp.) It is "the first draft of the author's address, turned into larger, legible type, for the sole purpose of rendering easier its public delivery." It was done by "the liberality of the City Authorities," and is, typographically, the handsomest of these orations. This resulted in the large-paper 75-page edition, printed from the same type as the 71-page edition, but modified by the author. It is printed "by order of the Common Council." The regular edition is in 60 pp., octavo size.

1886. — Williams, George Frederick.

1887. — Fitzgerald, John Edward.

1888. — Dillaway, William Edward Lovell.

1889. — Swift, John Lindsay.[19] "The American Citizen."

1890. — Pillsbury, Albert Enoch. "Public Spirit."

1891. — Quincy, Josiah.[20] "The Coming Peace."

1892. — Murphy, John Robert.

1893. — Putnam, Henry Ware. "The Mission of Our People."

1894. — O'Neil, Joseph Henry.

1895. — Berle, Adolph Augustus. "The Constitution and the Citizen."

1896. — Fitzgerald, John Francis.

1897. — Hale, Edward Everett. "The Contribution of Boston to American Independence."

1898. — O'Callaghan, Rev. Denis.

1899. — Matthews, Nathan, Jr. "Be Not Afraid of Greatness."

1900. — O'Meara, Stephen. "Progress through Conflict."

1901. — Guild, Curtis, Jr. "Supremacy and its Conditions."

1902. — Conry, Joseph A.

1903. — Mead, Edwin D. "The Principles of the Founders."

1904. — Sullivan, John A. "Boston's Past and Present. What Will Its Future Be?"

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[17] There is a large paper edition of fifty copies printed from this type, and also an edition from the press of John Wilson & Son, 1876. 55 pp. 8°.

[18] On Samuel Adams, a statue of whom, by Miss Anne Whitney, had just been completed for the City. A photograph of the statue is added.

[19] Contains a bibliography of Boston Fourth of July orations, from 1783 to 1889, inclusive, compiled by Lindsay Swift, of the Boston Public Library.

[20] Reprinted by the American Peace Society.

1905. — Colt, Le Baron Bradford. "America's Solution of the Problem of Government."

1906. — Coakley, Timothy Wilfred. "The American Race: Its Origin, the Fusion of Peoples; Its Aim, Fraternity."

1907. — Horton, Rev. Edward A. "Patriotism and the Republic."

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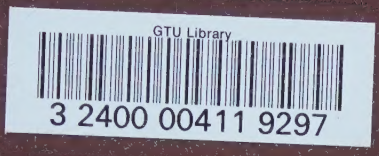
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